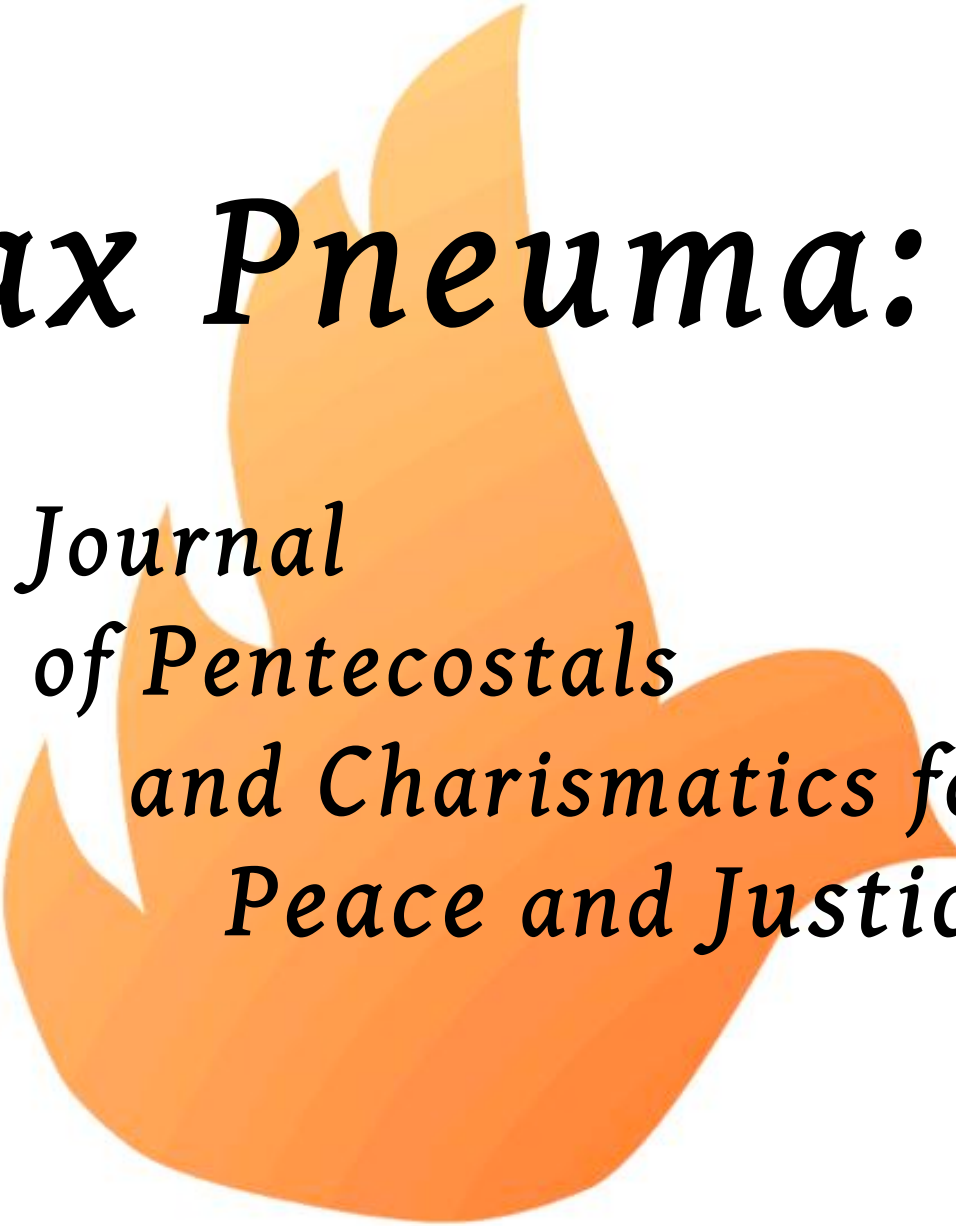




Pax Pneuma:

*The Journal
of Pentecostals
and Charismatics for
Peace and Justice*

Summer 2008
Volume 4, Issue 2

Pax Pnuema is the Journal of Pentecostals and Charismatics for Peace and Justice
© 2008 Pentecostals and Charismatics for Peace and Justice
www.pcpj.org

PCPJ MISSION STATEMENT

To encourage, enable, and sustain peacemaking and justice seeking as authentic and integral aspects of Pentecostal Charismatic Christianity, witnessing to the conviction that Jesus Christ is relevant to all tensions, crises, and brokenness in the world. The PCPJ seeks to show that addressing injustice and making peace as Jesus and his followers did is theologically sound, biblically commanded, and realistically possible.

Editorial Board

Cheryl Bridges-Johns
Church of God Theological Seminary

Anthea Butler
University of Rochester

Arlene Sanchez-Walsh
Azusa Pacific University

Martin Mittelstadt
Evangel University

Marlon Millner
Harvard Divinity School

Paul Alexander
Azusa Pacific University

Managing Editors

Brian Pipkin

Robert G. Reid

Table of Contents

Editorial	
“Politics of the Spirit”	4
Books to Consider	
	5
News	
“Time to Talk With Iran” Event Success!	6
Reviews	
“How much Iron do we really need, Man?” <i>Review of Iron Man the movie</i> by Teri Merrick	8
Annual PCPJ Conference	
“SHALOM '08: <i>Politics of the Spirit</i> ” (Oct. 17–19, 2008)	13
Interchurch Voices	
“‘Responsibility to Protect:’ How Do We Do It” by Gene Stolfus	11
Articles	
“‘How a Radical Jihadist Led Me to Jesus’” by Aaron D. Taylor	16
“‘Unbelted Every Soldier:’ A Brief Note on Pre-Montanist Tertullian’s Pacifism” by Jordan Daniel May	23

Politics of the Spirit

Editorial

In this electoral season, it is easy to confuse Charisma politics with the Politics of the Spirit.

Recently, [Charisma](#) magazine -- a leading publication covering the global Pentecostal and Charismatic movement -- has run articles critical of the [Rev. Jeremiah Wright](#), [Senator Barack Obama](#) and [Spirit-filled Christians](#) who have had positive things to say about him.

These critical comments are of concern to us, not because we endorse Obama (we do not, some of us even write about voting with our lives rather than voting for the president), nor because we decry criticism (we do not, we welcome it). But rather, we care because we do endorse a politics of the Spirit and Spirit-filled politics should not be construed as simply and solely partisan political attacks. And a politics of the Spirit as articulated by those of you who endorse this organization because you are a part of it, is nothing less than Jesus-supported peacemaking and justice seeking.

You would not then support suggesting someone is unfit for being president because they have Muslim relatives anymore than you would appreciate personal attacks on a candidate because they operate in the charismatic gifts of Spirit and openly testify to doing so in a secular culture.

Moreover, you would not use secular politics to suggest who is or is not led by the Spirit, because their politics disagree with yours.

But this is precisely what Strang Communications has done with a recent article by Charisma publisher [Stephen Strang criticizing Barack Obama](#), and a recent article by editor [J. Lee Grady criticizing Bishop T.D. Jakes](#), who has expressed what a [historical milestone Obama's candidacy represents](#) -- though he did not endorse him.

We would like to [hear your opinion](#) about whether we should speak out as Pentecostals & Charismatic for Peace & Justice.

We work on difficult issues every day that divide Spirit-filled Christians by ethnicity, nationality and denomination -- immigration reform, Israel-Palestine, the war in Iraq and the present election cycle. Our politics of the Spirit has always been respectful, even as we claim our space and discern how the Spirit would have us read, but better yet, live out the Scripture in today's world.

Read the articles. If you are concerned that all voices are not being equally heard on this matter, write a letter to Charisma Magazine. And [let us know](#) what you send.

We believe the politics of the Spirit is not limited to one or two issues (whether the issue is abortion, poverty, or war). And we believe Spirit-filled Christians are called to celebrate and voice their diversity and let Jesus, the one who baptizes us with his Spirit, truly be born anew in us at this politically pregnant moment.

Join us.

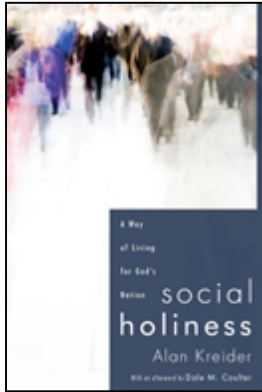
Be prophetic.

Walk in holy boldness.

Speak as the Spirit gives the utterance.

Books to Consider

A Source for New and Interesting Literary Resources



Social Holiness: A Way of Living for God's Nation
By Alan Kreider (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2008)

Rarely does one find a book on the topic of holiness with such depth as well as breadth. Kreider takes us on a journey deep into biblical territory and back again into the lives of nations, churches, families and individuals. In this journey the reader is convicted and drawn by the beauty of holiness. We Pentecostals need this word.

—Cheryl Bridges Johns, Church of God Theological Seminary



Electing Not to Vote: Christian Reflections on Reasons for Not Voting
Edited by Ted Lewis (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2008).

"People often forget that voting can be a coercive practice, just to the extent it justifies a majority's silencing of minorities. We should therefore be grateful that these essays raise an issue that too often goes undiscussed."

—Stanley Hauerwas, Duke Divinity School, Duke University

News

“Time to Talk With Iran” Event a Success! Campaign for a New American Policy on Iran

full article available from

<http://www.newiranpolicy.org/536/29301.html>



On Tuesday, June 10, 2008, the Campaign for a New American Policy on Iran (CNAPI) and the Enough Fear Campaign organized an innovative “Time to Talk with Iran” event and press conference on the Terrace of the West Side of the Cannon House Office Building. With the U.S. Capitol backdrop, Representatives Barbara Lee, Lynn Woolsey, Ron Paul, Marcy Kaptur, former Congressman Bob Barr, and Sheila Jackson-Lee joined the campaign in a press conference and spoke in support of direct, bilateral and comprehensive talks without preconditions between the governments of the United States and Iran. The members of Congress were then invited to join Campaign members, foreign policy experts and American citizens in using a row of 60’s-era red “hotline” telephones to talk directly to ordinary Iranians,

including a 60-year-old petroleum engineer, a software engineer, a French Literature professor and high school student. Click here to watch a video summary of the event by The Real News Network.

The “Time to Talk with Iran” event was an exercise in civilian diplomacy. It allowed Americans and Iranians to speak directly and get to know one another. There were more than 50 conversations between Americans and Iranians during the event. Most of the conversations focused on general personal questions and addressed how Iranians feel about Americans and how Americans feel about Iranians. The general sense was that despite the rhetoric between the governments of both countries, Americans and Iranians can and should be friends. Perhaps most significantly demonstrating this point, a number of people exchanged email addresses to continue the conversations. Politics mostly came up in the conversations between members of Congress and the Iranians. There was great emphasis on the need to get dialogue going and wanting better relations.

The Campaign for a New American Policy on Iran organized the “Time to Talk with Iran” event because we believe that a military confrontation between the United States and Iran would have enormous human and financial costs. It would also plunge the Middle East, and global economy, into further violence and chaos. The Campaign advocates direct, sustained, and comprehensive talks without preconditions between the governments of the United States and Iran as a realistic way to resolving the long-standing conflicts between the two countries.



Representatives of CNAPI members also spoke at the press conference, including: Doug Bandow, former Special Advisor to Ronald Reagan; Marcus Epstein, The American Cause; Phil Giraldi, former CIA Counterterrorism expert; Nick Jehlen, one of the event's organizers, Enough Fear Campaign; Ed Martin, American Friends Service Committee; Stephen McNerney, Project on Middle East Democracy; Geoffrey Millard, Iraq Veterans Against the War; Rev. Joseph Nangle, OFM, Franciscan priest, Pax Christi USA; Ebrahim Norouzi, Mossadegh Project; Carah Ong, one of the event's organizers, Center for Arms Control and Nonproliferation; Michael Ostrolenk, American Conservative Defense Alliance; Ira Shorr, Physicians for Social Responsibility; and Joe Volk, Friends Committee on National Legislation.

Concurrently on June 10, CNAPI organized a nationwide Call-in to Congress for Diplomacy with Iran. More than 5,200 calls from across the country were made using the 1-800 number set up by the Campaign to Congressional representatives in the House and Senate urging direct diplomacy not war with Iran.

WE NEED YOU!

When: ***October 16, 2008 starting at 2 PM***

Where: **Dallas, TX** (location to be determined)

What: This is designed to be a miniature academic conference in which students are encouraged to submit academic papers dealing with *social justice and/or peacemaking from a Pentecostal and/or Charismatic Perspective*.

The 2 best papers will be selected for an ***\$85 award (to help defray travel expenses) AND will be reviewed for ***PUBLICATION*** in *Pax Pneuma: The Journal of Pentecostals & Charismatics for Peace & Justice*.

For more information contact:
mr.robreid@gmail.com



Politics of the Spirit: New Tongues in a Culture of Empire

How much Iron do we really need, Man?

By Teri Merrick

Assistant Professor of Theology and Philosophy
Azusa Pacific University

By the end of its May Day opening weekend, *Iron Man* had grossed over \$100 million. Given this box office success and the anticipation surrounding the July 18th opening of *The Dark Knight*, film reviewer Russ Briemeier recommended dubbing the 2008 summer movie season, “the Summer of Superheroes”.¹ But by Memorial Day, the preeminence of Robert Downey Jr.’s high tech superhero was being usurped by the sword-wielding teenagers in *Prince Caspian* and that intrepid archaeologist with a whip, Indiana Jones. So what do all these summer blockbusters have in common if not futuristic superpowers? Well-defined bad guys and enough power the right hands to deal with them.

Don’t get me wrong. I’m a big fan of blockbuster action films, so much so that I convinced my husband to see *Iron Man* rather than his preference, an inspiring documentary about punk-singing old people. [Hint: an argument that always seems to work in these situations is ‘Aw, come on, action films just aren’t the same on DVD.’] This time, however, I found myself unable to sit back and revel in another, larger than life struggle between the forces of good and evil. Why was that?

Perhaps my ambivalence can be explained by the fact that the film’s hero and plotline was simply not fantastic enough. As Breimeier and Focus on the Family reviewer Paul Asay have both noted, unlike other Marvel Comic heroes, Tony Stark is just a repentant thirty-something, a self-made hero with no special mutant powers or radioactive spiderbites to distinguish him from the rest of us. Now, he does happen to be a wiz when it comes to



in

¹Christianity Today (2008, May 1). “Iron Man” Retrieved May 27, 2008 from <http://www.christianitytoday.com/movies/reviews/2008/ironman.html>.

computer and robotic technology, and he has inherited his father's multi-million dollar weapons manufacturing firm, Stark Industries. But other than that, Stark is like the rest of us, deeply flawed and in need of redemption.

For those who haven't seen the film, its premise is the following: What should a hedonistic, devil-may-care weapons developer do when finally forced to face the indiscriminate and devastating power of his own inventions? Answer? First, publicly disavow the weapon's manufacturing division of his father's company with the intention of shutting it down. When this fails due to panicking stockholders and a double-dealing mentor, he must don his latest invention, namely, a suit of armor capable of slaying the dragons that he has helped spawn.

Again, if one disregards the vast amount of intellectual and financial resources at Tony's disposal, then his is a tale of conversion familiar to most evangelical Christians. Indeed, Asay generally recommends the film for precisely this reason: "Stark's path to becoming Iron Man is, in many ways, as spiritual as you can get without reciting Bible verses...what one might call the Marvel Comics equivalent of the Apostle Paul's Damascus Road experience."² And while underscoring that "Stark's road to redemption is littered with bodies," Asay concludes that "the film's underlying messages", which include "loyalty, restitution and the responsible use of power by individuals and nations", are both "inspiring" and "biblical."³

Reading Asay's conclusion helped me better diagnosis my own reluctance to fully embrace the film. It wasn't merely that I, like Tony, was compelled to witness the all too real, ill-defined battles between good and evil, ones where American weapons find their way into the wrong hands, killing American soldiers and the innocent bystanders whom they are dying to liberate and defend. Rather, the problem was that I was never quite sure what the film was attempting to say about the so-called "responsible use of power" or whether such a strategy was realizable, given the inevitable proliferation of ever more destructive weaponry and its promiscuous dispersal. Although the film certainly raises the issue of arms proliferation and the amount of "collateral damage" that it can exact, the audience is left without any clear idea as to how this issue ought to be resolved. This, of course, is to say nothing against the producers of Iron Man; presumably their aim was to make a great action film, not determine American policy concerning the War on Terror or the Kyoto treaty. And by all accounts, they have more than accomplished their goal. I would hesitate, however, to applaud them for shedding any biblical illumination on the proper use of military might without further analysis. So let me end with a brief synopsis as to how such an analysis might proceed and what bearing it has on the stated aims of the Matthew 5 Project.

A closer look at the film reveals that Tony's 'Damascus Road experience' is not the result of looking down the barrel of a grenade launcher. Mirroring Paul's encounter with Christ, Tony's epiphany is sparked by meeting Yinsen, his fellow captive, who holds Tony accountable for the persecution of Yinsen's loved ones. Like Christ, Yinsen is still willing to do whatever it takes to initiate the process of reconciliation. He calls on Tony to repent and work out the salvation of his heretofore meaningless life. But this is where the film's ambiguity becomes manifest. Immediately after the cave scenes, where repentance, reconciliation, and salvation are brought about by a face to face negotiation between adversaries, Tony chooses to

² Focus on the Family (2008, June 2). "Iron Man" Retrieved June 2, 2008 from the online magazine Pluggedin at <http://www.pluggedinonline.com/movies/movies/a0004046.cfm>.

³Ibid.

confront his enemies by encasing himself in a suit that makes him impervious to all human contact. In grand action-hero fashion, Tony mows down his captors with more firepower than the research team of Stark Industries ever dreamed possible. The movie's stance on the ultimate wisdom of a fight-fire-with-fire policy then shifts again, when it becomes obvious that Tony may have unwittingly outfitted an entire army of terrorists with their most effective weapons to date.

While the jury is still out on whether the creators of Iron Man ought to be congratulated for depicting an internally consistent, let alone biblically consistent, ethic on the use of military might, the same cannot be said of the Matthew 5 Project. A cursory look at the statement on the Project's website shows they have endeavored to present a tightly woven, biblically grounded argument for the thesis that evangelical Christians can only support policies exhausting all conceivable "nonviolent paths to peace before resorting to military force...."⁴ Evangelical pastors, missionaries, laity, and teachers from around the USA and the world are endorsing the statement. My hope in writing this article is to encourage those who take scripture to be authoritative in framing fair and just governmental policies to check out the Matthew 5 project website and engage in a prayerful reflection on the question posed by Breimeier and Asay—What does the Bible have to say about the responsible use of individual and national power? Regardless of whether one ends up endorsing the statement, they will find it to be a more clearly articulated Christian perspective on confronting one's adversaries than can be gleaned from *Iron Man*.

⁴"Statement by Evangelicals for National Security through International Cooperation"
Retrieved June 2, 2008 from <http://www.matthew5project.org/>.



See more on Page 13 below.

"Responsibility to Protect" How Do We Do It

By Gene Stoltzfus

RR #1 RMB 293, Fort Frances. ON P9A3M2

Box 1482, International Falls, MN 56649

tel. 807-274-0138

blog: gstoltzfus.blogspot.com

email: gstoltzfus.blogspot.com

The Responsibility to Protect doctrine gives international support to a new standard for intervention and protection for civilians when a state cannot or will not protect its people. The standard calls for an armed and trained UN peacekeeping force of thousands but emphasizes humanitarian intervention as well. The plan that grew out of millennium goals in 2001 would place soldiers under international command in nasty situations like Rwanda, Darfur, Burna, Zimbabwe, Palestine, civic and police violence often in cities, and perhaps in places aboriginal people are under attack. The doctrine has received ecumenical church support but is at least one step removed from direct involvement, personal risk or engagement by churches. Ecclesiastical support implies armed soldiers put in place to force greater justice, human rights and political order.

In a time when world wide initiatives in peacemaker teams and conflict resolution enjoy exceptional success this proposal stretches us because it returns again to the possibility of military intervention. Filipino, Waldon Bello, with a long view of globalization reminds us that the doctrine of Responsibility to Protect adopted by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1674 April 28, 2006 may be a sanitized version of modern imperialism. The doctrine challenges the often overlooked covenant in place for centuries to respect the sovereignty of states. However, in order for there to be a credible critique of armed intervention, non-violent conflict resolution and peacemaker teams work must grow many times over.

Some years ago I visited our Christian Peacemaker Team (CPT) in Colombia. On the day before my arrival the team received an emergency call for help from a remote villagers where armed conflict had broken out between groups allied to the government and underground forces. The people urgently requested a presence of protection and I travelled to the village with Scott Kerr an experienced CPT member. By the time we reached the village more than half the people had fled and the fire fight was over. Those who remained were terrorized because they knew that both sides of the belligerent forces would return and charge individuals in the community with collaboration which may lead to execution or capture.

Two hours after we arrived one armed group entered to the village and began going house to house while their commander sat down to visit. My experienced partner talked to him softly and firmly, requesting that his soldiers not enter houses. He explained that visiting homes would make the occupants targets of his enemy. Within minutes the commander ordered soldiers not to enter houses and within an hour he called his thirty soldier unit together and they moved out. Later in the day representatives from a competing armed group arrived and were similarly encouraged to respect the local people. I believe our presence may have saved lives, property and affected the future of the community.

This story illustrates in the short term how an unarmed presence is effective where a presence of protection with arms may have been less effective. Additionally in the long term the unarmed presence creates space for people to make decisions about their own life, whereas an armed presences forces compliance and may awaken fear. Persons advocating armed

international intervention point to success in Bosnia and contrast it to the failure to intervene in Rwanda where many died in a genocidal outrage.

Christians and people of many religious faith would most likely agree that they have responsibility to protect and assist vulnerable victims. The Responsibility to Protect initiative is built in part on the now largely abandoned, but nevertheless important, fifty years of armed Canadian peacekeeping experience where soldiers were used.

Christian support for the proposal builds on a millennium long reflection and negotiation with the New Testament themes of enemy loving that culminated in a compromised doctrine of just war variously applied since its inception in the 4th century. My experience is that an unarmed nonviolent presence of protection is sound scripturally and works better. My hunch is that unarmed peacemakers are also less at risk.

At the root of this discussion is our understanding that what is necessary is a basic shift in how violence is overcome. The habits of making things come out right by means of armed intervention reach back to the founding of organized warfare in the land of Iraq 5000 years ago. In fact the premier symbol of nationhood and empire is its military. Nations and empires turn to their soldiers because there is nothing else available that they think works. And, they are pushed to do something. Nations generally resist change and think short term. Breaking the habits of armed soldiering in the way we organize ourselves will require generations of effort and experiments.

An armed international peacekeeping force is not the answer. However, active rejection may not be the answer either. Enemy loving is a real way for humankind to do better. When our scripture cheers us on to enemy loving (Blessed are the Peacemakers...) it reflects a vision of how things might be different. But that difference requires organization, moral fortitude, training and willingness to assume risk.

The problem of violence is on the mind of villagers, urban dwellers and governments around the world. The thought that violence can be held in check and perhaps melted by nonviolent means is good news to a lot of people. It is bad news for those who are stuck in old ways. The growth and success of conflict resolution initiatives should not surprise us. But it does. In our darker moments all of us are tempted to submit to the superstitions that surround us about the effectiveness of armed intervention.

Christians around the world reflected more unity of opposition to the threat of war in Iraq than we have seen in many centuries of wars. The exceptions were some Christians in the US. Some of the opposition to the war resulted from serious engagement with the Bible. Some resulted from practical local experience with war and violence in the last century. Some motivation came from local political culture. Some opposition arose from a world wide renaissance of interest in the Gospel of Peace. This renewed interest is a sign of enormous opportunity to deepen our faith in the Good News of Peace and organize ourselves to turn back violence in places where people are not protected. This is not the time to negotiate away pacifism and the ongoing experiment to develop methods of nonviolent intervention.

But in our enthusiasm a thread of humility helps as well. None of us has invented the perfect path to overcoming violence with love. All of us who strive to create official or private initiatives of violence reduction at some point cooperate with armed groups and police, sometimes with some success - often with disappointing results. I have yet to meet an armed group that doesn't at some point abuse its power, or become destructive in the pursuit of "just" goals.

"What if Hitler had not been stopped?" is the first question I will be asked when presenting these convictions. My response, "What if Christians had taken the generic New Testament teachings of peacemaking literally and refused to join Hitler's armies?" "What if Christians had refused to participate in the plantation system before the American civil war?"

Is there a future if we don't do better? Can our world overcome its superstitious embrace of arms without the gentle, persistent reminders of people who only use the strength of words, body language, honest negotiations and organized truth telling? If Christians can't figure out a way to do better we must admit that an armed interventionist group is the answer and we may have to get behind it with money people, and organization.

What if Christians and others would break from the addiction to the force of arms to get things to come out right? What if this century would build on the successful experiments in nonviolent enemy loving arising out of the horrible conflicts of the last century?

PCPJ Annual Meeting

SHALOM o8: Politics of the Spirit

October 17-19, 2008

Location

Journey Community Church, Dallas Texas (journeydallas.com)

Theme

- Creating redemptive communities
- Releasing prophetic imagination
- Engaging in justice, reconciliation, and restoration
- Nurturing transformation

Conversationalists

- Estrela Alexander, Regent University Divinity School
- Marc Ellis, Baylor University
- Danielle Shroyer, Journey Community Church
- Paul Alexander, Azusa Pacific University
- Christa Savely, Texas Woman's University
- Rich Foss, Plow Creek Fellowship
- Dallas Gingles, Southern Methodist University

Cost

- Student/Low Income - \$30
- Full - \$70
- Family - \$100

~Scholarships are available for any who need (no questions asked), extra is accepted from any who can~

Housing & Meals

- Motels & Hotels within walking distance of the church
- La Quinta is the conference hotel, \$59.99 per night, 7815 LBJ Freeway Dallas, TX 75251 - (972) 616-2400
- Restaurants within walking distance of the church, but some meals/snacks will be provided

Transportation

- DFW International & Love Field (Dallas) are the closest airports
- Free shuttle from airports will be provided

How To Register

1. Fill out this online form.
2. Pay for your registration.

OR

1. Send a letter with the information requested in the online form, along with a check or money order to: PCPJ, 617 Ranch Lane, Glendora, CA 91741.

Schedule

Friday (17th) - 7:00 pm - Worship & Paul Alexander, "Politics of the Spirit When the Blood is Flowing"

Saturday (18th) - 9:00 am - Handala Documentary/Panel Discussion on Israel/Palestine - Marc Ellis and Pieder Wiegner (filmmaker)

12:00 pm - Lunch

2:00 pm - Danielle Shroyer and Rich Foss - The Witness of Local PCPJs & The Future of PCPJ

5:00 pm - Dinner

7:00 pm - Worship & Estrela Alexander

Sunday (19th) - 9:00 am - Christa Savely & Dallas Gingles

PENTECOSTALS & CHARISMATICS FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

SHALOM 08

POLITICS OF THE SPIRIT: NEW LANGUAGES IN A CULTURE OF EMPIRE



ESTREDA ALEXANDER



DANIELLE SHROYER



PAUL ALEXANDER



MARC ELLIS

TOGETHER WE WILL SEEK WAYS TO **CREATE** REDEMPTIVE
COMMUNITIES. **RELEASE** PROPHETIC IMAGINATION AND
ENGAGE IN JUSTICE, RECONCILIATION AND RESTORATION.
DON'T MISS THIS WONDERFUL OPPORTUNITY TO **NURTURE**
AND **INCREASE** YOUR CAPACITY TO BE GOD'S AGENT OF
TRANSFORMATION IN THIS AGE OF EMPIRE.

OCTOBER 17 - 19, 2008
JOURNEY COMMUNITY CHURCH
DALLAS, TX

FIND INFO @
PCPJ.ORG
INFO@PCPJ.ORG 

SPONSORED BY
PENTECOSTALS & CHARISMATICS FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

How a Radical Jihadist Led Me To Jesus

By Aaron D. Taylor

Aaron D. Taylor is an author, speaker, a missionary/evangelist, and the founder of Great Commission Society (<http://www.greatcommissionsociety.com>). Aaron is currently writing a book entitled: "Jesus and Earthly Power: A Call for Reformation." To book Aaron D. Taylor to speak at your church or event, please contact him at 636-208-6828 or fromdeathtolife@gmail.com.

Stuck in a Room with a Jihadist

"What have I gotten myself into this time?" were the words flashing through my mind as I sat across the table from Stephen Marshall, the director of a feature length documentary film (currently in post-production) examining the role of religion in the post 9/11 clash between the West and Islam. Stephen and I were sitting in an underground café in London discussing what I was about to do the next day. In less than 24 hours, I was about to be stuck in a cold abandoned warehouse for hours upon hours with a radical jihadist who wanted to destroy me, my country, my religion, and everything else I held dear.

As a 28 year- old evangelist born and raised in Jefferson County Missouri, a rural county outside the suburbs of St. Louis, the idea of representing Western Civilization in an epic debate seemed a bit far-fetched. I imagined what the cultural elite in Europe would think if they knew a Christian missionary from the Bible Belt was their de facto representative for defending their civilization over and against Islamic civilization. The thought suddenly struck me as humorous. How in the world did I get here?

It all started when I was a young child attending a missionary conference at my charismatic mega-church. As long as I can remember, I've always had a knack for adventure and a zeal for the things of God. When I was between the ages of 8 and 10, my church invited missionaries from all over the world to display exhibits and share about their ministries at an event they called the World Harvest Conference. Seeing the missionaries dressed in exotic costumes and hearing their stories made me want to "abandon it all for the sake of the call" just as they had done. For a young child who rarely traveled, the prospect of spending my life in a far away place and learning another language captured my imagination and gave me a vision for the future. By the time my uncle Charlie took his first trip to Africa, I was hooked. I knew I wanted to be a missionary too.

My first missionary trip was in 1993 to the country of Poland. A missionary from our church named Jack Harris was scheduled to conduct an evangelistic crusade in the town of Wroclaw, so he decided to take a group of young people from the church with him so they could experience a taste of the mission field too. While in Poland, I read a book by an evangelist named Mike Francen called "A Quest for Souls." Mike was personally trained under the legendary T.L. Osborn and saw many of the same miracles that T.L. and his wife Daisy had seen throughout their 50-years of ministry together. For a 15 year old raised in the charismatic movement, looking at pictures of 100,000 people lifting their hands to receive Jesus as Savior was like an aspiring adolescent baseball player looking at a picture of Babe Ruth knocking the ball out of Yankee Stadium. For me, the choice was very simple. How could I stay in America and preach the gospel to those who have already heard when there are millions of people

around the world who have never had a chance to hear the gospel once? From that day forward, I decided to dedicate my life to becoming a world evangelist.

As soon as I graduated from high school, I was out the door and ready to change the world. During my formative years, my parents made tremendous financial sacrifices to put my brothers and me through Christian school, so we never really traveled much. But now that I had the freedom to determine my future, I found myself traveling to places far and wide—places I never in my wildest imagination dreamed I would ever go. Places such as India, China, Tibet, Vietnam, Cambodia, Uganda, Grenada, and Laos. Some of these countries were places where those who decided to follow Jesus often paid a terrible price of suffering and persecution and, yet, the joy on their faces reinforced to me that following Jesus is worth the cost, no matter what the cost may be.

Although I could have continued my travels solo, God had other plans. I met my wife Rhiannon in Dallas, Texas while I was a student at Christ for the Nations Institute and we married on October 6th, 2001, approximately three weeks after 9/11. Shortly after our wedding, we decided that we wanted to put our School of Missions training to use by taking the gospel to those of the Muslim faith. We wanted to minister in a country that has a Muslim majority, but also enjoys religious freedom; so after a year and a half of quiet and peaceful suburban living, we packed our bags and moved to the country of Senegal, a country located in the westernmost region of Africa.

For a year and a half in Senegal we labored, we cried, we prayed, and met a lot of fascinating people. Some were fellow missionaries laboring in a very difficult field. Others were Muslim converts to Christianity, many of whom had dreams and visions of Jesus and personal testimonies of miraculous healings. Most of our family and friends thought that we were crazy evangelizing Muslims, especially since this was shortly after 9/11, but the fact is our interaction with Muslims was entirely peaceful. Not once did we come across someone who hated us and wanted us out of the country. Although we only lived in Senegal for a year and a half, my wife and I were able to travel to three other West African nations (including a trip to Mauritania where we battled a plague of locusts), conduct a nationwide pastors' conference, and lead a young man to the Lord who is now is a full time church planter in the southern region of the country.

As much as we loved Senegal, all good things must come to an end. Due to a tragic illness in the family and a growing vision for a world-wide ministry, my wife and I decided to move back to the U.S, but it wasn't long till I was off traveling the world again. This time I found myself traveling to Pakistan, a place I soon discovered was largely overrun by radical jihadists sympathetic to the likes of people like Osama bin Laden. I didn't want to be a prime target for kidnapping or execution, so I decided to concentrate my ministry primarily on the Christian minority, encouraging them in their faith and equipping them with Bibles and other tools for witness and evangelism.

It was shortly after my first trip to Pakistan that I met Stephen Marshall. One day as I was checking my e-mail, I noticed an ad I had previously overlooked in a mass e-mail for missionary mobilizers. The headline read, "Hollywood production company looking for a young missionary who travels the world to participate in a feature-length documentary." A few days before I saw the e-mail, I already felt I had a direction from the Lord to begin engaging secular media with the gospel. I didn't think anyone would respond, so when Stephen called me a few days later, I was pleasantly surprised—and overwhelmed. I knew that representing a Christian perspective to the secular media is a tall order, especially when you

don't have any control over the editing process. Almost immediately after I got off the phone with Stephen I wondered if I'd bitten off more than I can chew.

Unfortunately for me, there was little time for second-guessing. Within a few short weeks, Stephen came to my home to interview me and ask me just about every question under the sun regarding my faith, family, and political views. The last thing I wanted to do was to isolate myself unnecessarily from those outside the conservative evangelical fold, so I tried to be as diplomatic as possible when asked questions about 9/11, the Iraq War, free-market capitalism, George Bush, and the Republican Party. Little did I know that the microscopic examination of my faith that weekend was only the tip of the iceberg. There was still much, much more to come.

Within a few short months, Stephen traveled with me to Pakistan to observe my preaching and to get a first-hand look at the oppression of Christians in a nation largely populated with radical Muslims. It was during the trip to Pakistan that Stephen began speaking to me about a very outspoken jihadist who lived in London named Khalid. I had seen Khalid on CNN and knew that he was an Irish convert to Islam who had grown up in a Catholic family. After the trip to Pakistan, I honestly thought my role in the film was over. In my mind, I had perhaps countered a few negative evangelical stereotypes and had a rare opportunity to expose the plight of the Pakistani Christians to the world.

Little did I know that a few months later, after delivering a sermon at a Pentecostal church in Brazil, a man would walk up to me and tell me that I was supposed to go to London before the end of the year and that, if I would go, then God would give me a great victory. Taking this as a word from God, I thought that maybe I could go and talk to Khalid, find out how he thinks and see if I could persuade him to accept the way and teachings of Christ. It wasn't long before the producers caught wind of the story and decided to set up a meeting between the two of us for the purpose of capturing the conversation on film.

I don't think words can describe the pressure I felt during the two days of what turned out to be an intense debate with Khalid. Not only did I have to make my case for Christ to Khalid (and all the other Bin-Laden followers who may watch the film), I also knew that I had to be a faithful representative of Christ to the average non-Christian watching the film, many of whom are already convinced in their minds that those who hold to a fundamental belief in Scripture are destined to drag the world into a premature Apocalypse. To top it off, I knew there were American soldiers in Iraq putting themselves in harm's way and the last thing I wanted to do was to dishonor their service. The fact that the weather was unusually cold and gloomy, and that we were meeting in an old abandoned warehouse, made the atmosphere tense from the start. When Khalid walked into the room with his fiery eyes, intense gaze, and a grey t-shirt with the words "Soldier of Allah" written on the front, I knew the next few hours were not going to be a picnic.

Well...let's just say the meeting didn't quite go as I planned. It took all of about two minutes for me to realize there wasn't going to be the Dr. Phil moment I had imagined with me helping Khalid to see that deep down inside there's an inner child waiting to be loved. Within no time, Khalid began venting all of his anger, frustration, and rage against my religion, my country, Western Civilization—and me. In the beginning, I did my utmost to keep the conversation on a theological level. Having lived in a Muslim country and studied the basic tenets of Islam, I knew how to engage Muslims in friendly conversation regarding the merits of Christian belief. Most Muslims I had met up until this point were surprisingly generous about their view of the Bible and the fate of Christians on judgment day. Khalid, on the other hand,

made no apology for his belief that every single Christian who has ever lived is heading straight for hell. The way Khalid raged about Iraq, Afghanistan, George Bush, and Tony Blair, I was sure that, in Khalid's mind, the hottest flames in hell are reserved for those who put them in office.

The most frustrating part for me was the more I tried to shift the conversation to theological matters, the more determined Khalid was to condemn the evils of Western Civilization and, in particular, U.S. foreign policy. After sitting and listening for what seemed like hours, besides the occasional interjection here and there, I finally decided to engage Khalid on one of the primary moral objections to political Islam, and that's the issue of religious freedom. Ready for a good debate, I finally stopped Khalid in mid-sentence and blurted out, "Freedom of religion in Islam is a façade. There is no such thing as freedom of religion in Islam."

Expecting to hear a rebuttal, I was genuinely taken aback when Khalid so nonchalantly replied, "No there's not. We don't believe in freedom and democracy. We believe democracy is just a manifestation of man-made law."

"Freedom and democracy equals man-made law?" I thought to myself, "now *that's* an idea I haven't heard recently." As an American Christian culturally conditioned to think of the words "freedom" and "democracy" as inalienable rights endowed by our Creator, the idea that another human being could consciously reject these values was intriguing to me. The association of democracy with man-made law also had a ring of logic to it. After all, we all know that the U.S. Congress and the British Parliament don't wait for a heavenly finger to write on tablets of stone before passing legislation.

Still trying to keep the conversation on a theological level and with little time to think, I responded, "You see that's the difference, because the Bible says in the New Testament, 'The letter kills, but the Spirit gives life' (2 Corinthians 3:6).

Wasting no time, Khalid replied "Yes, but what does that mean? Nobody knows what that means. Not very clear."

"Not very clear?" I thought to myself, "what's not clear about living in freedom from legalistic rules and regulations?" The Apostle Paul's meaning when he wrote these words is obvious. Outward conformity to a written code is no substitute for a relationship with God. Slavish obedience to a written code leads to hypocrisy and inflexibility when divorced from a heart-felt love for God and a genuine love for people. It's obvious to me. Why isn't this obvious to Khalid? I thought perhaps I needed to state it another way.

"If society is going to change, then hearts have to change," I said.

Khalid wasn't buying it.

"You still haven't described how you would implement the Bible as a way of life or in government. I'll be honest with you. I'm gonna pin you down. I don't think you can. I don't think you can, because you can't. With the Bible, how would you address the pedophilia, the prostitution, the homosexuality from a governmental point of view? How would you address that? You're in charge tomorrow all right? You are the president of the United States, how would you address these problems?"

How would I implement the Bible from a governmental point of view? Now *that* was a good question. In my mind, I could hear the calm reassuring voice of my senior pastor saying something like, "Now, Aaron. Remember that Christianity isn't about trying to regulate society by setting up earthly governments. It's about forgiveness of sins and a right relationship with God."

“That’s right pastor,” I thought to myself “but that doesn’t really answer his question. If I’m going to make the claim that my faith is the right one, certainly I need to show that if everyone, or at least the vast majority of people, embraced my faith, then society would be better off. After all, there are moral implications to living out the gospel, and these implications aren’t limited to the private sphere.”

In my heart I knew that Khalid’s question was far from insignificant. Even though I knew the standard answer that Jesus came to earth to die on the cross for our sins and rise again on the third day. Even though I knew what every self-professed born again evangelical Christian knows, that the gospel is about God’s love for sinners, not about sinners striving to achieve moral perfection. Even though I knew that the theme of the Bible is grace and redemption, not condemnation and legalism, there was something in Khalid’s question that caused my heart to sink. I knew that Khalid’s challenge wasn’t something I could dismiss lightly.

Now that Khalid knew he had my attention, he decided to walk me through the finer points of his worldview as a maestro would with an inquisitive pupil.

“Islam is not religion, you probably think Islam is a religion. It’s not. It’s a pure divine belief. Comprehensive. We had a divine social system, economic system, political system, private system, and a system of what to do when somebody invades your land, what to do when somebody invades your home. We’re onto the concept which a lot of people are talking about today, the issue of fighting or jihad in Islam. Jihad in Islam is one of the things that protects the Muslims around the world.”

“So jihad is primarily *defensive*?” I thought to myself, “Does that include 9/11?”

Khalid and I had an extensive debate on that one—and a host of other topics. For hours upon hours, for straight days, Khalid and I went back and forth on just about every topic imaginable: the prophethood of Muhammed, the crucifixion, the divinity of Jesus, the inspiration of Scripture, Osama bin Laden, Iraq, Afghanistan, the War on Terror, democracy, freedom of religion, the role of women, the persecution of Christians in Muslim lands, the finer points of Sharia law.

In many ways, I felt that I took a beating in my debate with Khalid, though I still walked out of there with my head held high. Rather than feeding the fire-breathing stereotype of a my-way-or-the-highway American evangelist, I decided in the end to make a symbolic attempt at reconciliation, at least on a societal level. Though Khalid left me with little hope of reconciliation between the West and Islam, I found out later that my presence did have a disarming effect on Khalid—somewhat. Khalid conceded that I wasn’t what he expected and, at the very least, he confided to me that I helped him see that American Christians are also concerned about the moral issues he’s concerned with and that not every American Christian agrees with U.S. foreign policy.

Then I returned home.

For weeks I walked around in a daze. I couldn’t get the thought out of my mind that if Khalid and his repeated threats to fight with all means necessary until U.S. troops are removed from Muslim lands, if his ideas represent only 10% of the 1.3 billion Muslims of the world, then we are looking at a problem of global significance. Hearing the rage and frustration of Khalid helped me to see that the anger and frustration of millions of Muslims directed at America and Western Civilization didn’t emerge from a vacuum. And how many jihadists does it take to execute a terrorist attack capable of destabilizing the world order? Only a handful. All I could think of was America is not ready for this.

But then another thought struck me.

As I poured myself into watching documentaries, reading scholarly journals online, and scrutinizing the TV news, I realized that something was changing on the inside of me, but I couldn't put my finger on what it was. After a couple of months I realized that something had happened during my debate with Khalid that I never thought would happen. Khalid had presented an authentic challenge to my faith and I knew that if there was to be any victory at all, like the victory that was prophesied, then I would have to get to the bottom of the issue. Khalid's charge was simple. Jesus didn't leave the world with a comprehensive social system, economic system, political system, or any other kind of system to regulate society. At least Muhammed *attempted* to solve the world's problems.

Tell me, preacher man. How would you implement the Bible from a governmental point of view?

I poured over the Scriptures for months with this question in mind. Did Jesus really leave us with *nothing* in terms of how to implement the Scriptures from a governmental point of view? Certainly he left us with *something*. Or did He? If He did, then we Christians in the West had better find out what it is and get off our lazy derrieres and do something. If He didn't, then *why* didn't He—and how come the vast majority of my charismatic brothers and sisters seem to think that He did?

After months of pouring over this simple question, I realized that my entire world had been turned upside down. But the twist in the story is my life was turned upside down not because I discovered that Khalid was wrong, but because I discovered that he was right. I realized that not only did Jesus *not* leave a comprehensive system in place to regulate society; He flat out refused every single form of earthly power that people tried to impose on Him. Not only was He not interested in establishing an earthly throne as Israel's rightful King; He wasn't even interested in taking on the role of a judge (Luke 12:14).

It's not that I didn't know this before. It's just that suddenly the thought of the Son of God coming to earth to live, die, and be raised from the dead—without suggesting some type of economic, judicial, or political system to give humanity a helping hand—took on a new and profound significance. If Jesus didn't attempt to solve the world's problems through seizing the reigns of political power, then He must have found a better way. That better way, I've at last discovered, is the cross. At the cross, Jesus taught humanity that it's better to suffer injustice than to be the cause of it, it's better to relinquish power than to pursue power, and, perhaps most importantly, it's better to die than to kill.

I find it odd that after 25 years in the charismatic movement—including three years of Bible school, ten years of traveling the world, and countless conferences for Christian leaders—I've heard hundreds of sermons on the cross, but *never* have I heard a sermon connecting the cross to an ethic of non-violence. I've heard the occasional sermon about taking up the cross and denying myself (usually that translates into thou shalt pray and fast *a lot*). I've heard numerous sermon examples about how some saintly follower of Jesus *way over there somewhere* chose to bless his persecutors rather than to curse them, but *never* have I heard a sermon about the cross as a challenge *for Americans* to think differently about violence, war, and—God forbid!!—Patriotism.

Since my time with Khalid I've traveled back to Africa to build a radio station, started a vocational training program to help suffering Christians in Pakistan, and—much to the consternation of friends and family—traveled to the West Bank with Christian Peacemaker Teams. After I wrote a scathing newsletter last year detailing the suffering of Palestinians

living under Israeli occupation, our ministry has lost a considerable amount of support. Most of my family and friends (including my most trusted mentors) simply don't understand why a promising missionary like me would put his entire career on the line to challenge such sacred cows in American evangelicalism. Rarely do I feel I have the right words to say when responding to my critics. Even now, all I can think of is, on November of 2006 in a cold, abandoned warehouse in London, a radical jihadist led me to Jesus.

“Unbelted Every Soldier”

A Brief Note on Pre-Montanist Tertullian’s Pacifism

Jordan Daniel May

Princeton Theological Seminary
SBN 133/email: Jordan.May@ptsem.edu

The subject of Christians’ involvement in the military has been a contentious issue for nearly two millennia. While many Christians follow the ‘Just War Theory,’ which states that Christians may at times pick up arms in defense of a nation or people, there are other Christians, usually labeled as ‘Pacifists,’ who reject any notion of Christian involvement in war or police actions. Both theological positions, however, claim to be the classical Christian position on the matter.¹ Just War Theorists contend that Jesus never forbids Christians’ involvement in the military and that examples such as Jesus’ exhortation regarding the faith of the Roman soldier (Luke 7.1-10) and the Roman Centurion’s conversion in Acts (Acts 10) provide enough evidence for the belief that Christians may faithfully serve in the military. Yet Pacifists contend that Jesus did, in fact, forbid Christians’ involvement in any violent action—military or civil—with his commands to “love your enemies” (Matt 5.44) and to “not resist an evil person but... to turn the other cheek” (Matt 5.39). The spirited debate between these two camps does not appear to be on the decline; in fact, the events surrounding September 11, 2001 and the U.S.-Iraqi War have only fueled both camps’ heated rhetoric towards one another.²

The majority of the scholarly debate on the subject surrounds either exegetical issues regarding the biblical texts or philosophical questions concerning Christian applied ethics. It appears, however, that most scholars in this debate both interpret the biblical texts or the philosophical questions through previously constructed grids of systematic theology or church tradition, and thus posit within this debate only what they already believe. In view of the theological stalemate, I propose an alternative approach to the debate in the form of a question: what did the early church believe regarding Christians’ involvement in the military? Since much of the debate surrounds Jesus’ own words, it is only logical to conclude (at least, in some measure) that those living closer to Jesus’ actual time period had a clearer grasp to whether or not Christians can serve faithfully within the military. Perhaps the answer to this question will shed some light on the modern Pacifist/Just War debate.

¹. While a thorough discussion regarding the exegetical issues involved in the Just War/Pacifist debate is beyond the scope of this brief essay, see, for example, Daniel A. Dombrowski, *Christian Pacifism* (Ethics and Action Series; Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1991) and John D. Roth, *Choosing Against War: A Christian View* (Intercourse, Penn.: Good Books, 2002) for the Christian Pacifist position; see, for example, Paul Ramsey, *The Just War: Force and Political Responsibility* (New York: Scribners, 1968) and Jean B. Elshtain, *Just War Theory* (Readings in Social and Political Theory; New York: NYUP, 1991) for the Christian Just War position.

². See, for example, Stanley Hauerwas and Paul Griffiths’ polemic critique of Jean Elshtain’s position on Just War (“War, Peace & Jean Bethke Elshtain,” *First Things* 136 [Oct 2003]: pp. 41-47) and Edward T. Oaks’ response (“War, Peace & Jean Bethke Elshtain: A Continuing Exchange,” *First Things* 139 [Jan 2004]: pp. 6-8).

It will be my intent, then, to examine the issue of Christians' involvement in the military from within the early church. Since Tertullian is the first Christian writer to give extensive attention to the idea of Christians in the military,³ I will use his theology as a case study.⁴ Before turning to his writings, however, a few notes regarding his literary chronology are warranted. The majority of Tertullian's view(s) regarding Christian military service is found primarily within three texts: *De Idololatria* (196-197 c.e.), *Apologeticum* (197-198 c.e.), and *De Corona* (208 c.e.).⁵ Prior to T. D. Barnes' seminal work, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study* (1971), virtually all scholars believed that Tertullian wrote *De Idololatria* rather late in his literary career, perhaps due to its theological similarities with *De Corona*.⁶ Regarding our study, this chronology would have made much sense, given that Tertullian's *Apologeticum* appears to permit Christian military service while his *De Idololatria* and *De Corona* appear to condemn such service. With this old chronology in mind, many scholars saw in Tertullian's position a steady trajectory from his early position represented in *Apologeticum* to the condemning position against Christian military service in his later treatises.⁷ As a result, many scholars viewed Tertullian's position as divided by his pre-Montanist (196-206 c.e.) and Montanist years (206-212 c.e.), and thus any difference in position was explained by this theological shift.⁸ But Barnes' work has challenged this notion and thus changed the scholarly landscape regarding Tertullian's literary chronology; consequently, scholars now believe that Tertullian's *De Idololatria* and *Apologeticum* come from approximately the same year. So, in view of this reality, my proposal is simply that Tertullian consistently rejected Christian military service—thus viewing military service the same way in his early literary career as he did in his later Montanist years. What is more, Tertullian rejected Christian military service, I believe, not only because of the pagan religious practices that take place within the Roman imperial army, as most scholars willingly concede, but also because of the possibility of Christians having to bear arms—a point in which most scholars object.

In the course of this study, I will evaluate only Tertullian's earlier pre-Montanist *De Idololatria* (196-97 c.e.) and *Apologeticum* (197-98 c.e.). Most scholars view Tertullian's Montanist

³ So, John Helgeland, Robert J. Daly and J. Patout Burns, *Christians and the Military: The Early Experience* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), p. 21.

⁴ In this paper, I will cite the primary sources from an English translation. See Tertullian in the *ANF* (trans. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1953), hereafter cited according to *SBL* regulations.

⁵ The dates proposed here reflect Timothy D. Barnes' somewhat non-traditional dating of Tertullian's writings (see *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1971], pp. 30-56).

⁶ A notable exception to this is Robert E. Roberts' classical work on Tertullian (*The Theology of Tertullian* [London: Epworth, 1924], p. 79).

⁷ See for example, Stephen Gero, "Miles Gloriosus: The Christian and Military Service According to Tertullian," *CH* 39.3 (1970): pp. 295-298 and S. L. Greenslade, ed. and trans., *The Library of Christian Classics V: Early Latin Theology* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster, 1956), p. 81.

⁸ So, C. John Cadoux, *The Early Christian Attitude to War: A Contribution to the History of Christian Ethics* (London: Headley Bros., 1919), p. 110.

theology as firmly pacifistic, so I will not analyze his later *De Corona*.⁹ Although there appears to be a contradiction in Tertullian's pre-Montanist thought on the subject of Christian military service, I will show from both his *De Idololatria* and *Apologeticum* that he was firmly pacifistic even during his pre-Montanist years.

In Tertullian's early *De Idololatria*, we get a foretaste of what, in his later Montanist years, will grow into a major theme in his writings: that life within the military forces one to choose that lifestyle over the Christian lifestyle and thus military service is set in total opposition to Christianity.¹⁰ Tertullian's *De Idololatria* addresses Christians who live within the Graeco-Roman world where paganism is entrenched in almost every social situation. Since idol-worship permeated the Graeco-Roman society, Tertullian writes this treatise to deal with the broad issue of Christians living differently from others who are steeped in idol-worship within the Roman Empire. Within this treatise, Tertullian discusses directly the thought of a Christian joining the Roman army:

Now inquiry is made ... whether a believer may turn himself unto military service, and whether the military may be admitted unto the faith, even the rank and file, or each inferior grade, to whom there is no necessity for taking part in sacrifices or capital punishments. There is no agreement between the divine and the human sacrament, the standard of Christ and the standard of the devil, the camp of light and the camp of darkness. One soul cannot be due to two masters—God and Caesar. (*Idol.* 19.2-5)

Some Christians, according to Tertullian, evidently believe that the position of an ordinary soldier ("even the rank and file, or each inferior grade") is not objectionable since, unlike the higher-ranked officers, they do not have to offer sacrifices or enforce capital punishment.¹¹ Tertullian, however, refutes this belief by stating as his main protest against Christian military service that it necessitates divided loyalties: "one soul cannot be due to two masters—God and Caesar" (*Idol.* 19.5). The fact that soldiers had to swear allegiance to the Roman emperor provides much evidence for this reality. During this time in the Roman military, soldiers recited the *sacramentum*, a military oath, upon enlisting in the Roman army.¹² The *sacramentum* was an oath of allegiance that soldiers recited not only initially upon military enlistment, but also biannually for the remainder of their military service.¹³ Prior to the imperial period (44 b.c.e. – 410 c.e.), however, soldiers took oaths to their individual military commanders. Yet due to the possibilities of military insurrections and revolts, where troops would thus follow their respective legion commanders, the soldiers later pledged their

⁹. See, for example, Roland H. Bainton, *Christian Attitudes Towards War and Peace: A Historical Survey and Critical Re-Evaluation* (New York: Abingdon, 1960), pp. 70-71; Jean-Michel Hornus, *It is not Lawful for me to Fight: Early Christian Attitudes toward War, Violence, and the State* (rev. edn.; trans. Alan Kreider and Oliver Coburn; Scottsdale, Penn.: Herald Press, 1989), pp. 112-113; and Roberts, *Theology*, p. 25.

¹⁰. Helgeland, Daly, and Burns, *Christians and the Military*, p. 23.

¹¹. Gero, "Miles Gloriosus," p. 297.

¹². Helgeland, Daly, and Burns, *Christians and the Military*, p. 50.

¹³. Helgeland, Daly, and Burns, *Christians and the Military*, p. 50.

allegiances solely to the Roman emperor.¹⁴ As a result, the *sacramentum* demanded absolute submission to the Roman emperor as the highest authority. And since the Roman emperors were also appointed to the office of the *Pontifex Maximus*, the *sacramentum* involved implicit idolatry in Tertullian's mind.¹⁵

Roman soldiers also pledged their allegiances both to the patron standard for the Roman imperial army and to the military standards of their respective legions. The patron standard and symbol of Rome's military might was the eagle, which symbolized Jupiter.¹⁶ The Romans believed that the eagle protected the empire from possible foreign invaders, and thus even their *esprit de corps* rested in their patron standard.¹⁷ Any legion that lost either the Romans' patron standard or their own respective standard during battle would be dishonorably disbanded. Once a standard was lost, in fact, the Romans would not rest until they were able to return the standard successfully.¹⁸ In one such case, when the Germanic leader Arminius defeated General Varus in Germany in 9 c.e., it took close to thirty-five years for the Romans to successfully return their standard.¹⁹

Furthermore, the eagle and the other lesser standards of the Roman army were the object of the Cult of Standards.²⁰ The Cult revolved around devout allegiance to the standards and by Tertullian's time, it had achieved a special prominence in the ritual life of the Roman army.²¹ In fact, a common practice among the Roman soldiers was to pay honor to the standards after a military victory. Roman soldiers believed that if they received protection from the god behind the standard, they should then in turn pay homage to the god with an honorary dedication.²² Speaking on the Roman military's piety towards their standards, Tertullian states: "The camp religion of the Romans is all through a worship of the standards, a setting the standards above all gods" (*Apol.* 18).²³ As cited above, Tertullian notes in his *De*

¹⁴. C. E. Brand, *Roman Military Law* (Austin: U.T. UP, 1968), p. 92 and Sara Elise Phang, *Roman Military Service: Ideologies of Discipline in the Late Republic and Early Principate* (Cambridge: UP, 2008), p. 119.

¹⁵. So, Helgeland, Daly, and Burns, *Christians and the Military*, p. 50. The *Pontifex Maximus* was the high priest of the ancient Roman College of Pontiffs, which was the highest office in the ancient Roman religion. See Leonhard Schmitz, "Pontifex," in William Smith, ed., *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London: John Murray, 1875), pp. 939-942.

¹⁶. Helgeland, Daly, and Burns, *Christians and the Military*, p. 49. See also, Phang, *Roman Military Service*, p. 27. In fact, a military unit could not be considered an official legion without the chief Roman standard.

¹⁷. Helgeland, Daly, and Burns, *Christians and the Military*, p. 49.

¹⁸. Helgeland, Daly, and Burns, *Christians and the Military*, p. 49.

¹⁹. Graham Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army: Of the First and Second Centuries A.D.* (London: A. & C. Black, 1969), p. 135.

²⁰. For more on the Roman Cult of Standards, see Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Classics and Contemporary Thought; Berkley, Calif.: U.C.B. UP, 2000), pp. 278-280.

²¹. Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, p. 278.

²². Helgeland, Daly, and Burns, *Christians and the Military*, p. 49-50.

²³. See also Tertullian's *Ad Nationes*: "Thus, in your victories, the religion of your camp makes even crosses objects of worship; your standards it adores, your standards are the sanction of its oaths; your standards it prefers before Jupiter himself" (*Nat.* 12).

Idololatria that there can be no agreement between the standards of the Romans and the standard of Christ. From Tertullian's own pen, we can see that one of his principal objections against Christian military service is the fact that military life demanded divided loyalties from its Christian soldiers. Any allegiance to either an emperor or a standard is no different in the mind of Tertullian—both appear to be idolatrous.²⁴ The fact that lower ranked soldiers are not forced to offer sacrifices and enforce capital punishment—which Tertullian certainly objects to—did not justify their military service. Rather, the mere fact that soldiers had to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor and to the different Roman and legion standards is enough for Tertullian to consider military service as idolatrous.

From this passage, we can see that Tertullian undeniably objects to Christian military service due to the idolatrous behavior within the imperial army's ranks. And most scholars certainly locate Tertullian's position on the military on this particular issue. But what does Tertullian say about the possibility of Christians having to bear arms? Tertullian continues his thought in the same passage:

And yet Moses carried a rod, and Aaron wore a buckle, and John (the Baptist) is girt with leather and Joshua the son of Nun leads a line of march; and the people warred: if it pleases you to sport with the subject. But how will a Christian man go to war, nay, how will he serve even in peace, without a sword, which the Lord has taken away? For albeit soldiers had come unto John, and had received the formula of their rule; albeit, likewise, a centurion had believed; still the Lord afterward, in disarming Peter, unbelted every soldier. No dress is lawful among us, if assigned to any unlawful action. (*Idol.* 19.6-9)

It is astounding that many scholars read this chapter and still come away with the opinion that Tertullian was opposed to Christian military service solely on the grounds of the rampant idolatry within the Roman imperial army. In their work on patristic interpretation of Christian military service, Helgeland, Daly, and Burns note regarding this chapter:

As Tertullian saw it, the idolatry of the military forced Christians into two offenses against the faith: taking part in sacrifices and executing capital sentences. Nothing is said about combat. That is why Tertullian seems to be as concerned with the question of whether a soldier could serve in peacetime. ... Nowhere is there any statement that a soldier should not enlist because killing in combat is wrong.²⁵

It seems as though many scholars miss Tertullian's plain statements regarding the possibility of Christians in combat situations.²⁶ While it is true that Tertullian objects to Christian military service because of the idolatry within the Roman army, as Helgeland, Daly,

²⁴. Helgeland, Daly, and Burns, *Christians and the Military*, p. 23.

²⁵. Helgeland, Daly, and Burns, *Christians and the Military*, p. 23, 29.

²⁶. See, for example, Hans von Campenhausen, *Tradition and Life in the Church: Essays and Lectures in Church History* (trans. A. V. Littledale; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), pp. 163-165.

and Burns note correctly, he also objects because of the possibility of Christians having to bear arms.²⁷

Within this passage, Tertullian begins with a negative answer to the question of whether Christians of lower ranks can serve in the military. Tertullian goes on to affirm that Christians of any rank cannot serve in the military because of the idolatrous allegiances to the emperor and military standards. Tertullian then raises the issue, “one soul cannot be due to two masters—God and Caesar” (*Idol.* 19.5), thus implying that Christians in the military serve two different masters. It should be remembered, however, that Tertullian did not raise the initial question, but that Tertullian merely responds to the question regarding Christian military service. For scholars to allow this passage to dictate how one reads Tertullian’s position of Christian military service is to miss the point of the larger passage. Before the question of Christian military service, Tertullian discusses the issue of Christians and idolatrous attire. Immediately following his statements against military allegiances, Tertullian raises a related question: “how will a Christian man go to war, nay, how will he serve even in peace, without a sword”? (*Idol.* 19.7). Tertullian believes that in disarming Peter, Christ disarmed all soldiers (*Idol.* 19.8); thus Tertullian clearly believes that it was idolatrous for a Christian to wear a sword—even in peacetime.²⁸ Further support for Tertullian’s view of the sword is found in his *Adversus Judaeos*, which belongs roughly to the same year as *De Idololatria*.²⁹

The old law being obliterated ... For the wont of the old law was to avenge itself by the vengeance of the glaive, and to pluck out “eye for eye,” and to inflict retaliatory revenge for injury. But the new laws wont was to point to clemency, and to convert to tranquility the pristine ferocity of “glaives” and “lances,” and to remodel the pristine execution of “war” upon the rivals and foes of the law into the pacific actions of “ploughing” and “tilling” the land. Therefore as we have shown above that the coming cessation of the old law and of the carnal circumcision was declared, so, too, the observance of the new law and the spiritual circumcision has shone out into the voluntary obedience of peace. (*Adv. Jud.* 3)

In this passage, Tertullian affirms that the Israelites were correct in waging war and enforcing capital punishment, but he asserts that “the new laws” that point towards compassion now have precedence over the old.³⁰ The new laws changed the former savagery of swords and lances into tranquility, and refashioned the former infliction of war into the “voluntary obedience of peace.”³¹ Tertullian makes it clear that the old law is the precursor of the new and that violence is not part of the new law.³²

²⁷. Lisa Sowle Cahill, “Nonresistance, Defense, Violence, and the Kingdom in Christian Tradition,” *Int.* 38.4 (1984): p. 381.

²⁸. The reality that soldiers carried swords even in peacetime makes much sense seeing that the Roman soldiers were also the police force for the empire. For more on this subject, see Ramsay MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1963), pp. 49-78.

²⁹. Barnes, *Tertullian*, p. 55.

³⁰. Cahill, “Nonresistance,” p. 382.

³¹. Cadoux, *Early Christian Attitude to War*, p. 109.

³². Cahill, “Nonresistance,” p. 382 and Gero, “Miles Gloriosus,” p. 286.

We can thus conclude from this analysis of *De Idololatria* that Tertullian rejected Christian military service for two primary purposes: 1) idolatry in the Roman army and 2) the fact that Christ disarmed all soldiers. But what about Tertullian's so-called approval of Christian military service in his *Apologeticum*? As already mentioned, most scholars find in Tertullian a constant rejection of Christian military service based on the extensive idolatry within the Roman army's ranks or they see a steady trajectory from a position that supports Christian military service, such as that alluded to possible in the *Apologeticum*, to one that totally rejects Christian military service in his later *De Corona*.³³ Yet, as already shown, this theory builds on an old and incorrect chronology that places *De Idololatria* and *De Corona* together towards the end of Tertullian's literary career, during his Montanist years. In order to get an accurate view of Tertullian's pre-Montanist understanding of Christian military service, we must consider Tertullian's *De Idololatria* and *Apologeticum* together.

Tertullian's apology, which addresses the "rulers" of the Roman Empire, is a written defense against the accusations that Christians fail to participate in the Graeco-Roman society. Within this defense, Tertullian asserts the legitimacy of the Roman Empire since the emperor came to power by the pleasure of God and as a result, Christians pray for him:

Without ceasing, for all our emperors we offer prayer. We pray for life prolonged; for security to the empire; for protection to the imperial house; for brave armies, a faithful senate, a virtuous people, the world at rest, whatever, as man or Caesar, an emperor would wish. (*Apol.* 25)

As expected, Tertullian argues for the legitimacy of the Christians as a religious group among others within the Roman Empire.³⁴ Tertullian knows that many within the Roman Empire made the charge that Christians refuse to participate in the Graeco-Roman *status quo*, perhaps he was aware of Celsus' *True Doctrine* (ca. 180 c.e.) in which Celsus leveled the exact same charge. In attempting to refute these accusations, Tertullian notes that there are Christians who participate in every area of society.³⁵ In doing so, Tertullian claims that Christians, because of their large numbers, could cause insurrection, but fortunately, for Rome, Christians are forbidden to practice violence.³⁶

If we are enjoined, then, to love our enemies, as I have remarked above, whom have we to hate? If injured, we are forbidden to retaliate, lest we become as bad ourselves: who can suffer injury at our hands? ... Yet, banded together as we are, ever so ready to sacrifice our lives, what single case of revenge for injury are you able to point to, though, if it were held right among us to repay evil by evil, a single night with a torch or two could achieve an ample vengeance? ... If we desired, indeed, to act the part of open enemies, not merely of secret avengers, would there be any lacking in strength, whether of numbers or resources? ... We are but of yesterday, and we have filled every place among you—cities, islands, fortresses, towns, market places, the very camp, tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum—we have left nothing to you but the temples of your gods. For what wars should we not be fit, not eager, even with

³³. For the former view, see Helgeland, Daly, and Burns, *Christians and the Military*, pp. 21-30 and for the latter view, see Gero, "Miles Gloriosus," pp. 285-298.

³⁴. Helgeland, Daly, and Burns, *Christians and the Military*, p. 21.

³⁵. Gero, "Miles Gloriosus," p. 286.

³⁶. Hornus, *Not Lawful*, p. 214.

unequal forces, we who so willingly yield ourselves to the sword, if in our religion it were not counted better to be slain than to slay? (*Apol.* 37)

Within this passage, Tertullian mentions that Christians can be found everywhere within society with the one exception of pagan temples. Does this imply that Christians were in the military? Tertullian already mentioned that Christians pray for “brave armies” (*Apol.* 25) and here we see that Christians occupy “fortresses” (*Apol.* 37).³⁷ Tertullian even goes on to directly state that Christians participate in the Roman military:

So we sojourn with you in the world, abjuring neither forum, nor shambles, nor bath, nor booth, nor workshop, nor inn, nor weekly market, nor any other places of commerce. We sail with you, and fight with you, and till the ground with you; and in like manner we unite with you in your traffickings—even in the various arts we make public property of our works for your benefit. (*Apol.* 42)

At face value there appears to be a contradiction within Tertullian’s thinking. In his *De Idololatria* there is a clear condemnation of Christian military service, and yet in his *Apologeticum*, while not at all condoning, there seems to be an acceptance of Christian military service. We appear to have a fight on our hands.

Both writings, early as they are in Tertullian’s literary career, give us good indication that there were some Christians serving in the Roman army during this time.³⁸ In *Apologeticum*, Tertullian clearly informs his readers that Christians do serve in the Roman army. And in *De Idololatria*, there is not only evidence for soldiers turned Christians but also evidence for the enlistment of already baptized Christians (“Now inquiry is made ... whether a believer may turn himself unto military service, and whether the military may be admitted unto the faith,” *Idol.* 19.2). But Tertullian levels two primary objections to Christian military service. First, Tertullian emphatically rejects Christian military service based not only on certain pagan practices within the army (i.e., sacrifices), but also on the oaths of allegiances pledged towards the emperor and military standards. While the lower ranked soldiers did not have to partake in many of the pagan practices, they did have to pledge their allegiance to the Roman emperor and their respective military standards; thus Tertullian rejects even their military service. Second, Tertullian rejects Christian military service because Christians would then have to bear arms. As mentioned above, Tertullian believes that in disarming the apostle Peter, Christ disarmed all Christians. So, why then does Tertullian appear to accept Christian military service in his *Apologeticum*?

Some scholars, in fact, have even accused Tertullian of being dishonest or inconstant in boasting to the Roman officials that Christians served within the Roman army while at the same time arguing with Christians in his rejection of Christian military service.³⁹

³⁷. Gero, “Miles Gloriosus,” p. 286.

³⁸. It should be remembered here that a decade or so prior to Tertullian’s writings Celsus made the claim that Christians refused to serve in the military. And Origin in his response to Celsus 70 years later acknowledges the truth of the claim (*Cels.* 8.68). So, the numbers of Christians who served in the Roman army by Tertullian’s time must have been rather small.

³⁹. So, Adolph von Harnack, *Militia Christi: The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries* (trans. D. M. Gracie; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), p. 59.

We should not be tempted, however, to separate Tertullian's views from the history in which they first appeared. Tertullian wrote during a time when the Romans were suspicious of the growing Christian community. When Tertullian wrote to other Christians, such as in his *De Idololatria*, he expressed his personal views towards the subject of Christian military service, but when he wrote to the Roman officials, he was more careful in the presentation of his views. It is unfair to characterize Tertullian as dishonest when he simply adverted to the fact that some Christians served in the Roman military. In no way did Tertullian condone Christian military service in his *Apologeticum*, but rather he simply admitted the reality of Christians in the military and used that fact within his defense of Christians and their readiness to take part in the activities of society. It would have been ineffective, not to mention rather incongruous, to introduce an issue in his *Apologeticum* on which Christian opinion varied, unless his line of reasoning specifically called for its treatment.⁴⁰

Before concluding, perhaps we should pause to see where we are in our inquiry into Tertullian's pre-Montanist pacifism. First, I have demonstrated from his own pen that, even though there were Christians serving within the Roman army, Tertullian rejected Christian military service for two primary reasons: 1) the rampant idolatry within the Roman army and 2) the possibility of Christians having to bear arms. Even if a Christian could serve in the Roman army without engaging in any of the idolatrous practices, he could not carry a sword according to Tertullian. In fact, Tertullian raises the important question: "how will a Christian man go to war, nay, how will he serve even in peace, without a sword" (*Idol.* 19.7). The obvious answer to Tertullian's question is that a Christian cannot serve without a sword; thus Christians have no business serving in the Roman army. Second, I have shown that Tertullian consistently rejected Christian military service throughout his entire literary career.⁴¹ While Tertullian appears to accept Christian military service in his *Apologeticum*, in actuality, he only confirms that there were Christians serving in the Roman army. Tertullian only offered this information to the Roman rulers in order to calm their suspicions that Christians were socially subversive. Nowhere in his *Apologeticum* does Tertullian specifically condone Christian military service. Instead, we see such phrases as "to love our enemies," "if it were held right among us to repay evil by evil," and "better to be slain than to slay." As a result, even though Tertullian acknowledged the existence of Christians serving in the Roman army, we can see clearly that he consistently rejected Christian military service.

While Tertullian's theology is only one slice of the patristic witness on the subject of Christian military service, Tertullian is the earliest witness (not to mention the father of Latin Christianity) to give us extensive attention on the subject. So, what then does Tertullian's view on Christian military service contribute to the modern Just War/Pacifist debate, if anything? First, Tertullian's writings indicate strongly that both Christians turned soldiers and already baptized Christians enlisted and served in the Roman army during the time of his writings. Although the number of Christians who served in the military was probably relatively small, the idea that Tertullian mentions the fact that Christians served in the military to the Roman officials and the reality that Tertullian debated the issue of Christian

⁴⁰ Robert F. Evans points out that in works addressed to a pagan readership Tertullian could suppress his beliefs about issues like Christians serving in the military in order not to antagonize his readers. See "On the Problem of Church and Empire in Tertullian's *Apologeticum*," *Studia Patristica* 14 (1976): p. 25.

⁴¹ The fact that Tertullian held a consistent position on a theological subject during both his pre-Montanist and Montanist years has been noted in other areas beside Christian military service. See, for example, David Rankin, "Tertullian's Consistency of Thought on Ministry," *Studia Patristica* 21 (1989): 271-76.

military service with other Christians confirms this thesis. Second, the idea that there was a debate (so-called) between Tertullian and other Christians who believed that soldiers of the lower ranks could serve in the military gives us good indication that there was not a universally accepted position on the matter. Moreover, the simple fact that Tertullian was consistent in his pacifism from both his pre-Montanist to his Montanist years further supports this notion. Scholars can no longer claim that Tertullian's pacifism was solely the product of his later Montanist thinking, and thereby explain his position only as in rebellion from his early more 'orthodox' (or proto-orthodox) position. Third, in discussing his reasons for rejecting Christian military service, Tertullian expressed certain exegetical and hermeneutical tendencies. Among these, Tertullian appeared to reject Christian military service based on theological readings of 1) the historical event of Jesus disarming Peter and 2) the new law (i.e., New Covenant) surpassing the old. Any attempt to equate Tertullian's pacifism with modern pacifism would thus have to examine extensively his exegetical and hermeneutical reasons for his pacifism. If modern pacifists wish to enlist Tertullian into their camp, in order to be consistent, they also would have to accept the exegetical and hermenitical reasons for his pacifism (or, at least, explain them). In conclusion, we can see from within Tertullian's own writings that there existed two Christian positions concerning Christian military—one represented by him and the other represented by his interlocutor in *De Idololatria*. Thus, as far as the modern Just War/Pacifist debate is concerned, we can conclude safely that the debate is, in fact, much older than both sides usually want admit.

Bibliography

- Ando, Clifford. *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire. Classics and Contemporary Thought*. Berkley, Calif.: U.C.B. UP, 2000.
- Bainton, Roland H. *Christian Attitudes Towards War and Peace: A Historical Survey and Critical Re-Evaluation*. New York: Abingdon, 1960.
- Barnes, Timothy D. *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971.
- Brand, C. E. *Roman Military Law*. Austin: U.T. UP, 1968.
- Cadoux, C. John. *The Early Christian Attitude to War: A Contribution to the History of Christian Ethics*. London: Headley Bros., 1919.
- Cahill, Lisa Sowle. "Nonresistance, Defense, Violence, and the Kingdom in Christian Tradition." *Int.* 38.4 (1984): pp. 380-397.
- Campanhausen, Hans von. *Tradition and Life in the Church: Essays and Lectures in Church History*. Translated by A. V. Littledale. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968.
- Dombrowski, Daniel A. *Christian Pacifism*. Ethics and Action Series. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1991.
- Elshtain, Jean B. *Just War Theory*. Readings in Social and Political Theory. New York: NY UP, 1991.
- Evans, Robert T. "One the Problem of Church and Empire in Tertullian's *Apologeticum*." *Studia Patristica* 14 (1976): pp. 21-36.
- Gero, Stephen. "Miles Gloriosus: The Christian and Military Service According to Tertullian." *CH* 39.3 (1970): pp. 295-298.
- Greenslade, S. L. ed. and trans. *The Library of Christian Classics V: Early Latin Theology*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster, 1956.
- Harnack, Adolph von. *Militia Christi: The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries*. Translated by D. M. Gracie. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981.
- Hauerwas, Stanley and Paul Griffiths. "War, Peace & Jean Bethke Elshtain." *First Things* 136 (Oct 2003): pp. 41-47.
- Helgeland, John, Robert J. Daly, and J. Patout Burns. *Christian and the Military: The Early Experience*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985.
- Hornus, Jean-Michel. *It is not Lawful for me to Fight: Early Christian Attitudes toward War, Violence, and the State*. Rev. edn. Translated by Alan Kreider and Oliver Coburn. Scottsdale, Penn.: Herald Press, 1989.

- MacMullen, Ramsay. *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1963.
- Oaks, Edward T. "War, Peace & Jean Bethke Elshtain: A Continuing Exchange." *First Things* 139 (Jan 2004): pp. 6-8.
- Phang, Sara Elise. *Roman Military Service: Ideologies of Discipline in the Late Republic and Early Principate*. Cambridge: UP, 2008.
- Ramsey, Paul. *The Just War: Force and Political Responsibility*. New York: Scribers, 1968.
- Rankin, David. "Tertullian's Consistency of Thought on Ministry." *Studia Patristica* 21 (1989): pp. 271-76.
- Roberts, Robert E. *The Theology of Tertullian*. London. Epworth, 1924.
- Roth, John D. *Choosing Against War: A Christian View*. Intercourse, Penn.: Good Books, 2002.
- Schmitz, Leonhard. "Pontifex." Pages 939-942 in *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. Edited by William Smith. London: John Murray, 1875.
- Webster, Graham. *The Roman Imperial Army: Of the First and Second Centuries A.D.* London: A. & C. Black, 1969.